FIVE CENTS

The Suffragist

WEEKLY ORGAN OF THE
CONGRESSIONAL UNION FOR WOMAN SUFFRAGE

DECEMBER 26, 1914

Drawn by
Nina E. Allender

The Suffragists' Christmas

Watching for Santa Claus

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The Suffragist

Weekly Organ of the Congressional Union for Woman Suffrage

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News of the Week

House Vote on Suffrage

THE debate and vote on the suffrage amendment will probably not take place before the second week in January.

Action on suffrage will be postponed by the absence of a quorum in the House during the holiday season.

The Secretary of State on Woman Suffrage

IN the last issue of the *Commoner,* Secretary Bryan said that he would vote for the national suffrage amendment, but does not think the present time opportune for its submission, since there is no reason to believe it would be ratified by three-fourths of the states, even if it secured a vote of two-thirds of the two houses.

"A national contest," said the Secretary, * * * "would simply divert attention from other issues, on which the people are ready to act, without advancing the cause of woman's suffrage." * * *

It is interesting to note that the Secretary does not use the States' rights objection to federal action on suffrage. He merely declares the time not ripe. That is an objection which time will remedy; it leaves the Secretary free to declare for the woman suffrage federal amendment when the time seems opportune.

National Prohibition

THE federal amendment prohibiting the sale, manufacture, and transportation of intoxicating liquors in the United States was debated and voted on in the House of Representatives on Tuesday, December 22d. It secured a majority of eight votes, but failed of the necessary two-thirds' majority by sixty-one votes.

Hearing on Suffrage Bill

THE Federal Equality Association conducted a hearing, on Thursday, December 17th, in support of H. R. 9393, introduced by Representative French, of Idaho. This bill would secure for women the right to vote for Senators of the United States and Members of the House of Representatives. The chief speakers at the hearing were Mrs. Clara Bewick Colby and the Rev. Olympia Brown.

Minimum Wage Law on Trial

A CASE testing the constitutionality of the Oregon Minimum Wage Law has been brought before the United States Supreme Court, and is now in the hands of the nine judges, awaiting their decision. On their judgment depends the right of a state to forbid employers to pay to women wages insufficient for the maintenance of a decent existence.

The Supreme Court of Oregon has already ruled that the law is constitutional.

The persons bringing suit in the federal case contend that the Oregon Minimum Wage Law is a violation of the Fourteenth Amendment to the Federal Constitution, which prohibits any state from making any law "which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States." The plaintiffs contend that the establishment of a minimum wage to be paid to women interferes with their "privilege and immunities"—to work at such wages as they please.

Nine States have enacted minimum wage laws for women, including California, Oregon, Washington, Utah, Nebraska, Colorado, Minnesota, Wisconsin and Massachusetts. Other States have this legislation under consideration. Congress now has before it legislation to establish a minimum wage for women in the District of Columbia. Four other States have such legislation pending. If the Supreme Court should declare the Oregon law unconstitutional, this legislation would thereby be wiped off the statute books of the other nine States, and the possibility of protecting the health and welfare of women by insuring them a living wage would vanish. It would take a constitutional amendment to overrule the Supreme Court.

The Oregon statute is based on the ground that the "welfare of the State requires that women and minors should be protected from conditions of labor which have a pernicious effect on their health and morals, and inadequate wages and unduly long hours and unsanitary conditions of labor have such a pernicious effect."

In his brief before the court, Mr. Louis D. Brandeis, appearing in behalf of the Oregon Wage Commission, said:

"Investigation proves that with insufficient wages, food is necessarily cut down below the level of subsistence. In order to meet unavoidable expenses for lodging and clothing, working women often reduce their diet to the lowest possible point, and health inevitably suffers. Investigation proves that workers receiving the lowest wages are able to spend least on health. Hence, they are often without care in sickness, although their need is greatest by reason of low earnings and consequent hardship. Authorities agree in the opinion that while the underpayment of women and the consequent struggle to live may not be the primary cause for entering upon an immoral life, it is inevitably one of the most important contributing factors. When wages are too low to supply nourishment and other human needs, temptation is more readily yielded to.

"Every argument advanced here as to the possible injury to industry from the passing of minimum wage laws can be found duplicated in the debates before the English Parliament 113 years ago, when that body prohibited the employment of little children 4, 5 and 6 years of age from working twelve and fourteen hours a day in factories," concluded Mr. Brandeis.

The Income Tax

THE Commissioner of Internal Revenue issued on December 18th a set of rulings on questions relating to the Income Tax. There are several items that are of particular interest to women. Alimonies are taxable, as are pensions, and the premiums on life insurance when paid after death and not as endowments.

Another regulation provides that an American woman who marries a foreigner takes the nationality of her husband, but cannot claim exemption where her property is liable to taxation.

California "Abatement Law" to Be Fought in Supreme Court

THE California "Red Light Injunction Law," which was adopted by vote of the people at the recent election, is to be challenged. San Francisco real estate men have organized a Property Owners' Protective Association to fight the law. A test case has already been begun and will be carried to the Supreme Court.

Jury of Women Physicians

FOR the first time in history a jury of women physicians sat as judges of the court for the insane at the Detention Hospital in Chicago. This jury saved two women from being wrongfully committed to the insane asylum by their husbands. Women of all classes, and especially the women lawyers, of the whole country are hoping that this precedent will become established, and that other cities will adopt this method of dealing with the cases of insane women.

Woman Judge in Missouri

THE Governor of Missouri on December 20th appointed Miss Frances Hopkins of Liberty, Missouri, probate judge of Clay County. Miss Hopkins, who succeeds her father, is the first woman to be appointed to that office in Missouri.

Woman Wins Honors in Mechanics

AT the recent meeting of the American Society of Mechanical Engineers Miss Kate Gleason, of Rochester, New York, was admitted as the first woman member. She was introduced as one of the best mechanical engineers in the country, and a "manager of finances second to none."

Miss Gleason is a graduate of Cornell University, where she took the mechanical engineering course; and she is manager and secretary of a large plant in Rochester.

Meeting of the Advisory Council

THE Advisory Council of the Congressional Union met in New York last Saturday afternoon at the home of Mrs. Oliver H. P. Belmont to consider and adopt a plan of work for the coming year. A few friends and members of the Union in New York had also been asked to be present.

The small gathering was a brilliant and distinguished one. Mrs. Florence Kelley, Mrs. Harriott Stanton Blatch, Mrs. John Dewey, Mrs. John Winters Brannan, Mrs. John Rogers, Jr., Mrs. Charlotte Perkins Gilman, Mrs. John Jay White, Miss Zona Gale, Miss Anne Martin, Mrs. Mary Beard, Mrs. William Kent, Mrs. Crystal Eastman Benedict, Mrs. Marion Cothren, Mrs. Inez Milholland Boissevain, Mrs. William L. Colt, Miss Marion May, Mrs. Robert Adamson, Mrs. Breitung and a number of other women, prominent in social and civic work, were gathered together for a brief and practical conference on the work to be undertaken in 1915 in support of the Bristow-Mondell Amendment.

A brief report of the election campaign in the nine suffrage states was made by Mrs. William Kent and Miss Lucy Burns.

A plan to organize support in the equal suffrage states during 1915 was approved by the Council. It was also decided to carry on a campaign in the State of Delaware for the purpose of amending the Constitution of that State.

The small group present at the meeting pledged $3,000 to carry on the work which had been outlined and approved.

The meeting was a most beautiful one—quiet, earnest and practical.

Members' Conference at Washington

ON Sunday evening, January 10th, the members of the Congressional Union will meet at Rauscher's to consider in detail the plan of work for the New Year. The meeting, at which Mrs. William Kent will preside, will begin at eight o'clock. All friends of the Union, as well as all Suffragists and Anti-suffragists (if any are left in Washington) are also cordially invited to be present.

This meeting is the annual conference of members of the Congressional Union. A similar meeting was held last year at the home of Mrs. William Kent, who acted as chairman on this occasion also. Since that day the movement has gained greatly in volume and impetus. The meeting on January 10th will reveal among the membershp larger plans and a more determined purpose.

Expatriation of Women Citizens

A BILL securing the rights of citizenship to American women married to foreigners, was lost in the House last Monday.

Mr. Harrison, of Minnesota, introduced a bill providing that an American woman married to a foreigner may at the termination of the marital relation resume her American citizenship, if abroad, by registering as an American citizen within one year with a consul of the United States; or by returning to reside in the United States.

At the present time, the supporters of the bill explained, American women are deprived of the protection of the laws of their country, and lose their right to vote, in the equal suffrage states, if they marry foreigners. When they are no longer married and in many cases have returned to reside in the United States, their expatriation and disfranchisement constitute a particularly unreasonable injustice.

The measure came up on the "Unanimous Consent" Calendar, and required for passage the assent of all the members present. Objection to it was made by Mr. Steenerson of Minnesota, and the bill was accordingly lost.

Mr. Steenerson declared that the bill failed of its purpose in that it did not affect the citizenship of any woman today married to a foreigner. It could only possibly affect women who hereafter marry foreigners.

"May I ask the gentleman," said Mr. Harrison, "if the bill was amended to apply to those who have already married foreigners, would he be in favor of it?"

Mr. Steenerson: Then it would be special legislation* * * Does not the gentleman from California (Mr. Kent) know that in 1897 we appointed a commission * * * and they investigated this matter very carefully, giving it a great deal of time, and then reported to Congress that the law had always been that the citizenship of a married woman followed the citizenship of her husband? The report is an exhaustive summary of the law of expatriation.

Mr. Kent: That may have been the law, but that does not make it a just law.

Mr. Steenerson: Yes, it is. And the law of every civilized country in the world except Great Britain; and Great Britain changed her law in 1890, so that the laws of all the nations today are now harmonious on that subject.

Mr. Kent: We are not legislating for Great Britain, but we are legislating for the United States. * * * There is a woman in Washington—I cannot give her name—who was a citizen of the United States, that married a man who had taken out his papers with the intention of being naturalized, and thus has forfeited citizenship rights.

Mr. Steenerson: I desire to say that until the State Department itself thinks this bill ought to be passed, I shall object to it. * * *

Mr. Lenroot (Wisconsin): In the gentleman's state, as in my own, woman suffrage will soon be an accomplished fact.

Mr. Steenerson: This bill has nothing to do with woman suffrage. I have not opposed woman suffrage. Those who claim this bill affects woman suffrage, even in California, are mistaken.

Mr. Lenroot: We have thousands of foreigners who have declared their intention of becoming citizens of the United States. Does the gentleman think it just to penalize these women who are citizens now and deprive them of their vote, because they married men who have declared their intention of becoming citizens of the United States, and will become citizens as soon as possible?

Mr. Steenerson: There is no penalizing about it. They will be citizens as soon as their husbands. * * * It is the law of every nation in the world that the woman's status follows that of her husband —and it ought to be so everywhere. Diversity of citizenship between husband and wife is not compatible with family life nor in harmony with our notion of the Christian marriage.

Mr. Steenerson then referred at great length to the case of Mrs. Mackenzie Gordon, a "native daughter" of California, who, though a brilliant worker for woman suffrage, found herself dsfranchised in that state because her husband, a resident in this country of twenty years' standing, had neglected to become naturalized. He quoted a letter of the State Department (March 13, 1912) to Congressman William Kent, stating that whether an American woman married to a foreigner lived abroad or at home, she was equally deprived of her citizenship.

The whole course of this debate proved clearly the pressing need for the national enfranchisement of women. Even women voters in the equal suffrage states will always be at a great disadvantage in dealing with the Federal Government until women are enfranchised throughout the whole nation.

Deputation of Democratic Women to President

MRS. GEORGE A. ARMES, President of the District of Columbia Branch of the National Wilson and Marshall League, and of the National Democratic Women of America, is receiving daily a great number of letters from women interested in the Democratic deputation to the President, and promising to join it. A weighty delegation will come from New York. Philadelphia, too, is sending a large contingent, among them Dr. Frances Van Gasken, Senior Physician of the Woman's Medical College. Mrs. Francis I. Dupont and Mrs. Elsie Stoke Sattherwaite will head a delegation from Wilmington. Others who will join this deputation of Democratic women to the leader of their party are Mrs. Bertha Lincoln Houstis, President of the American League of Penwomen; Mrs. J. Edson Briggs, Regent of the District Chapter of the D. A. R.; Miss Alberta Hill, of New York; Mrs. Estelle W. Ions, Secretary of the Southern Suffrage League; Mrs. Leonard H. Wilder, President of the District of Columbia Rivers and Harbors Association; Mrs. C. A. Fant; Mrs. George Wilson; Mrs. Ellis Logan, President of the District of Columbia Federation of Women's Clubs; Mrs. E. E. Nicol, the Misses Nicol of Alexander, Mrs. Frank Harper of Alexandria, Mrs. Henry Churchill Cook, Miss Mayher, Mrs. Ella S. Knight, Mrs. Albert S. Maddox, Miss Margaret Killeen, Miss Mildred Koonce, Miss Robinson, Miss Mamie E. Melick, Mrs. Albert C. White, Mrs. Mary Sitz Parker, Mrs. P. W. von Dachenhauser, Mrs. Rachael Tongate Beck, Mrs. William Graham Harvey, Mrs. Lawrens Prior, Mrs. John J. Corcoran, Miss Katharine Corcoran, Mrs. John Evans, Miss L. Luella Hogue, Mrs. John Sherwin Crosby, head of the Women's Democratic Club of New York, Mrs. Martha W. Fairfield, Mrs. Marie H. Smith and Mrs. Clayton E. Emig.

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Senate Resolution 130, and House Resolution 1

Proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States extending the right of suffrage to women.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress Assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following article be proposed to the legislatures of the several States as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which, when ratified by three-fourths of the said legislatures, shall be valid as part of said Constitution, namely:

"ARTICLE .—SEC. 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

"SEC. 2. Congress shall have power, by appropriate legislation, to enforce the provisions of this article."

HISTORY OF THE AMENDMENT

Introduced:

In the Senate: April 7, 1913, by Senator George E. Chamberlain, of Oregon.
In the House: April 7, 1913, by Representative Frank W. Mondell, of Wyoming.

Referred:

In the Senate: April 7, 1913, to the Woman Suffrage Committee.
In the House: April 7, 1913, to the Judiciary Committee.

Reported:

In the Senate: June 13, 1913, favorable report.
In the House: May 5, 1914. Reported without recommendation.

Discussed:

In the Senate: July 31, 1913, twenty-two Senators in favor, three opposing.
September 18, 1913, Senator Wesley L. Jones, of Washington, demanded immediate action.
On January 21, 1914, Senator Ashurst, of Arizona, delivered a speech urging the passage of the Amendment.
Made unfinished business, March 2, 1914.
Debated almost continuously from March 2d to March 19th.

Voted Upon:

In the Senate: March 19, thirty-five Senators in favor, thirty-four opposed, failing by eleven of the necessary two-thirds vote.

Reintroduced:

In the Senate: March 20, 1914, by Senator Bristow, of Kansas.

Reported:

In the Senate: April 7, favorable report.

Present Status:

In the Senate: On Calendar of Senate.
In the House: On Calendar of House.

LESSONS FROM THE PROHIBITION VOTE

SUFFRAGISTS followed with great interest the course of proceedings affecting the prohibition amendment.

This proposal to amend the Constitution of the United States so as to forbid the sale, manufacture, and transportation of intoxicating liquors in the United States was before the House Judiciary Committee with the national suffrage amendment. The Judiciary Committee, under very heavy pressure, reported both amendments without recommendation—a process designed to kill any measure, not extraordinarily supported by public opinion. Similar resolutions providing time for their consideration were submitted to the Rules Committee, which finally, after a long battle, considered them on the same day and gave them approximately similar treatment.

Women who are interested in their enfranchising amendment watched with great curiosity the "handling" of prohibition in the House.

It is obvious that the Democratic Party had it in their power to grant or withhold national prohibition. They control the House by a two-thirds' majority. If the party had espoused national prohibition that measure would now be assured of success. The Democratic Party had it in its power to establish prohibition throughout the nation, and it decided not to do so.

The attempt to present an appearance of non-partisanship by the union of forces between Mr. Mann, Republican floor leader, and Mr. Underwood, Democratic floor leader, need not deceive any one. The fact is that Mr. Underwood's party could have carried prohibition in the House, whatever Mr. Mann did; and Mr. Mann's party could do nothing at all in the House against the will of Mr. Underwood's party.

The influence of the majority party, moreover, bore heavily against the amendment. The silence of Mr. Wilson was ominous. The sudden explanation of Mr. Bryan immediately after a date was set for a vote on prohibition in the House, that the moment was not "opportune" for a national prohibition amendment,—these things turned votes and were intended to turn them.

The debate upon the amendment proved for Suffragist readers one very useful thing. It proved that the states' rights theory is a vital part of the Democratic doctrine in the case of a bill which the Democratic Congressman opposes; and that the same theory has no bearing on the issue at all when the Congressman is a supporter of the measure in hand.

Mr. Pou of North Carolina said: "I cannot surrender the principle that each State should have the right to regulate the liquor traffic, without interference in any way whatever by the people of any other state. * * * You (Southern Democrats) had better be consistent; you had better remain faithful and true to the principles of our ancestors. They died, some of them, yea, thousands of them, to vindicate the very principle for which I am speaking here today."

Mr. Tribble of Georgia said: "Our fathers intended this Government to be an expression of the people's will. When the Constitution was written, the prohibition question was not an issue, but those patriots who constructed the Constitution knew as time rolled on new constitutional questions would arise and they provided a method of submitting such questions to the people. They made it very difficult to amend that instrument which protects the liberties of the American people; but it can be done, has been done, and will be done many times in the future."

Mr. Langley of Kentucky said: "I cannot see how, under our theory of government, a representative of the people can consistently deny them the privilege of deciding, in accordance with the method of procedure laid down by our fathers, whether they want the Constitution amended, when, as in this instance, there is a nation-wide demand for it."

Mr. Saunders of Virginia said: "How can this resolution be critically assailed as an invasion, in any proper sense, of states' rights, when it is a proceeding under the Constitution, by virtue of the Constitution, and in conformity with the Constitution to amend the Constitution, conformably to a reserved right contained in that very instrument. Yet we talk as if some outrageous thing was being done today, as if the States were to be robbed of some precious right, in defiance of the law."

The discussion of the prohibition amendment has let in a great quantity of light on the States Rights doctrine, and forced its adherents to distinguish between the usurpation by the Federal Government of powers not granted by the Constitution and the co-operation of States to amend the Constitution according to laws laid down within that document itself.

Hereafter Congressmen will be found from the North and South who oppose woman suffrage; but it is to be hoped that they will oppose it, like an honest Anti-Suffragist, on its merits, and not on the obviously false ground that suffrage is not a national question at all.

Southern Senator on Federal Amendment

ONE of the most interesting developments in the campaign for national prohibition was the speech delivered in the United States Senate on December 18 by Senator Sheppard of Texas, in which a southern man punctured forever the theory so readily advanced by southern men in general, and even by the President of the United States, that the effect of a constitutional amendment would be unjustly to force upon one-fourth of the states the will of the other three-fourths.

The arguments of Senator Sheppard, consisting as they did of the statement of certain historic facts carefully ignored by fervent advocates of states' rights today, apply with even more force to the proposed constitutional amendment enfranchising women than to the resolution providing for national prohibition, in the interest of which the speech was delivered.

"One of the principal objections to this amendment," said Senator Sheppard, "is that it is an invasion of the rights of the states. * * * The makers of these objections admit that Congress is without power to adopt the amendment; that Congress may only submit it to the states for acceptance or rejection, deciding whether they may act through legislatures or conventions. They say, however, that it is such a violation of states' rights that they will not permit the states to pass upon it lest three-fourths or more of the states might impose it on the remainder.

"Under the form of government that preceded the present system it required the consent of all the states to effect any change in the Constitution. That Constitution was called 'Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union Between the States.'

"Some gentlemen seem to think that we are still living under this confederation, which went out of existence in 1789, 125 years ago. They argue that this liquor amendment should be agreed to on its merits in Congress and be satisfactory to every state before it should be adopted, and that any other view is subversive of states' rights. These gentlemen belong to the eighteenth century, not the twentieth; to the confederation, not the Union: to the dead past, not the living present.

"During the convention which framed the present system, the Convention of 1787, there were clashes on the question of amending the new Constitution.

Present Forms of Amending the Federal Constitution Established by Southern States

THE issue was squarely raised in the convention that framed the present Constitution as to whether the consent of every state should be required as to amendments. Returning to Madison's record, we find that all the southern states participating in that great convention, namely, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina and Georgia voted down a motion requiring the consent of all the states to amendments to the Federal Constitution; that the only northern state voting with them was Pennsylvania. What are we to think of these modern guardians of states' rights in the South who talk so solemnly about the 'sacrilege' of adopting any amendment 'against the will of a sovereign state?'"

Following Madison's Minutes further, Senator Sheppard shows that the right of three-fourths of the states to amend the present Federal Constitution was established by the votes of Southern States. It was so established in the face of the fact that the issue of interference with the police powers, nay, of the very existence of particular states, was specifically raised—raised not by anybody from the South, but by a northern man. "Will anyone," said Senator Sheppard, "say that the southern men who helped to make the present Constitution were not as capable of preserving the true rights of the states or were not as devoted to the maintenance of their integrity as these present-day statesmen who clamor for the right of one state to block the progress of the Nation, and many of whom are using the argument of states' rights as a mask for the death's head of the liquor traffic?

"So deep is the reverence in which the framers of the Constitution are held that they are often referred to as 'the fathers.' Who were the fathers who came up from the South to aid in fashioning the mightiest written instrument ever devised by man? From Virginia came George Washington, John Blair, and James Madison; from North Carolina, William Blount, Richard Dobbs Spaight, and Hugh Williams; from South Carolina, J. Rutledge, Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, Charles Pinckney, and Pierce Butler; from Georgia, William Few and Abraham Baldwin; from Maryland, James McHenry, Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer, and Daniel Carroll; from Delaware, George Read, Gunning Bedford, John Dickinson, Richard Bassett, and Jacob Brown.

"These men and their associates from the other states realized that the peoples of the states were the constituent bodies of the Nation and that the structure of the Nation should always be subject to their control. They realized that the new Constitution would have to be changed from time to time to meet the changing needs of succeeding ages. They understood the principle expressed a few years later by Burke in his 'Reflections on the Revolution in France,' when he said:

"'A state without the means of some change is without the means of its conservation.'"

Senator Sheppard also quotes Calhoun, "admittedly our foremost exponent of the doctrine of states' rights, as saying in regard to the amending power:

"It is safe, because the proportion is sufficiently large to prevent a dominant portion of the Union or combination of the states from using the amending power as an instrument to make changes in the Constitution adverse to the interests and rights of the weaker portion of the Union or a minority of the states. It may not, in this respect, be as perfectly safe as it would be in the unmodified state in which it outlined and established the Constitution; but for all practical purposes it is believed to be safe as an amending power. It is difficult to conceive a case where so large a portion as three-fourths of the states would undertake to insert a power by way of amendment which, instead of improving and perfecting the Constitution, would deprive the remaining fourth of any right essentially belonging to them as members of the Union or clearly intended to oppress them."

"And so," comments Mr. Sheppard, "we have it from the lips of Calhoun, the greatest apostle of states' rights in American history, that three-fourths of the states may be safely and wisely trusted to adopt proper constitutional changes."

Sovereignty of States Not Impaired by Delegation of Authority

IN his discussion of the dual system embodied in federal and state constitutions, Senator Sheppard quotes Alexander Stephens of Georgia on the subject of the delegation of authority and Justice Chase on the effect of the Declaration of Independence on the American colonies. In the latter connection, Mr. Sheppard adds:

"Chief Justice Marshall said, in Gibbons against Ogden, of the States prior to the Constitution:

"'It has been said that they were sovereign, were completely independent, and were connected with each other only by a league. This is true.'

"Under the confederation, the first form of collective government adopted by the States, they retained their separate freedom, independence, and sovereignty, and no change could be made in the confederation without the consent of each of the States. When these sovereign States adopted the present Constitution they decided that three-fourths of their number should make any future amendments except as to equal representation in the Senate. They decided that one or a few States not exceeding one-fourth should yield their will to the will of the remainder. In doing this they no more modified their ultimate sovereignty than a citizen of a State would modify his freedom by agreeing to abide by the will of the majority. Those who oppose the submission of the prohibition amendment are refusing the creative powers of the Republic, the peoples of the sovereign States acting through their legislatures, an opportunity to discharge their proper and historic functions."

Amending Power in the Confederate Constitution

AND as a final and crushing blow to the self-constituted guardianship of the southern statesmen of today over the rights of the States, Senator Sheppard brings out the following interesting fact:

"In the Confederate Constitution the amending power was vested in two-thirds of the States, except as to equal representation in the Senate, and the Confederate Congress was not allowed to refuse submission. The Confederate Congress was required by the Confederate Constitution to call a convention of all the States at the demand of any three States, to consider such amendments as the three States might suggest. If a majority of the States in the convention thus called, voting equally as States, agreed to a proposed amendment, it was then submitted to the State legislatures, two-thirds of which could adopt the amendment and make it a part of the Confederate Constitution. The Confederate Constitution was amendable against the consent of a third of the States, while the Constitution of the original Union is amendable only against that of a fourth of the States. The Confederate Constitution went further in the matter of amendments against the will of individual States than the Federal Constitution.

"And this," Senator Sheppard remarks, "is but another contradiction of the assertion that the right of a single state to be exempt from changes in the Federal Constitution to which it might not consent is a characteristic southern doctrine. It is also an illustration of the fact that the Confederacy regarded the submitting power of its Congress as a mere ministerial function."

And finally:

"The states, acting together," says Senator Sheppard, "formed this nation for the specific purpose of co-operating for the common good. If they can not co-operate through the regular channel of an amendment to the Federal Constitution for the purpose of abolishing an evil * * * they had as well dissolve the Union and each return to a separate government of its own."

Senator Sheppard was referring to the prohibition amendment. How much more forcibly his remarks apply to the injustice at present visited upon the women of thirty-six states in the Union will be appreciated when it is remembered that the proposed constitutional amendment enfranchising women, in which Senator Sheppard believes, and for which he voted in the Senate, seeks to secure to one-half the people of this nation the exercise only of what under our institutions we all hold to be a fundamental right, in providing that

"The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex."

Comments of the Press

Some Very Fine Words

IF only President Wilson had said in his message: "And there is another great piece of legislation which awaits and should receive the sanction of the Senate. I mean the bill which gives a larger measure of self-government to the *women of this country*. How better, in this time of anxious questioning and perplexed policy, could we show our confidence in the principles of liberty, as the source as well as the expression of life, how better could we demonstrate our own self-possession and steadfastness in the course of justice and disinterestedness?"

In no way, Mr. President.

But unhappily, the above question referred to Philippine men, not to American women.—Alice Duer Miller in the *New York Tribune*, December 13, 1914.

The Democratic Party and the Prohibition Vote

UNDER the heading "Prohibition to Win Majority in House, but Not Two-thirds Vote Necessary to Send It to Senate," the *Chicago Tribune* wrote on December 15th the following shrewd comment on the party management of the prohibition problem:

"Democratic leaders, headed by Majority Leader Underwood, are attempting to pave the way for an easy let-down for Congressmen representing the states in the so-called 'solid South.'

"When the vote in the House is taken, Georgia, Texas, Louisiana, Mississippi and Alabama will go solidly against prohibition, except Mr. Hobson of Alabama, while Virginia, Oklahoma, Arkansas, North Carolina, and South Carolina will go solidly in favor of prohibition. Tennessee and Kentucky will divide. * * *

"That the Hobson resolution will lose votes as a result of the attitude expressed by Secretary of State Bryan in the recent issue of the *Commoner* is certain. Secretary Bryan declared his belief in both suffrage and prohibition. However, he said that both questions should be dealt with in the respective states. Such is understood to be President Wilson's belief.

"Between now and December 22, when the prohibition resolution will be up for consideration, a strong effort will be made to get the President to state his views publicly in order to bolster his wavering party in the House.

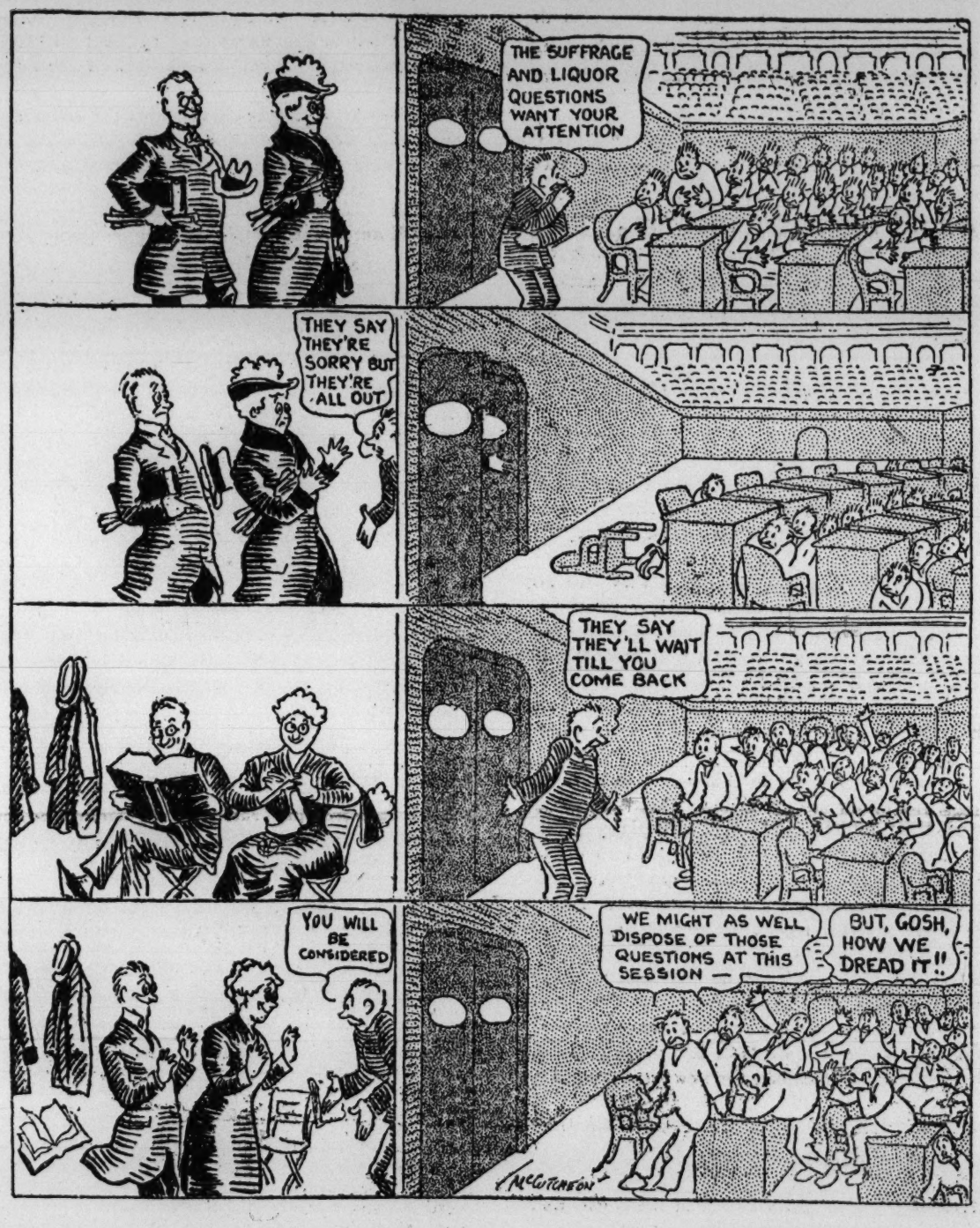
"It developed today also that many persons who favor state-wide prohibition and who hitherto have been looked upon as 'dry' in the House, will vote against the Hobson measure as a result of Secretary Bryan's pronouncement and also because they are not in accord with the provisions of the Hobson resolution as it is now constituted."

Those voting "for" or "against" a measure are not necessarily deadly enemies. Under astute leadership they sometimes co-operate most skillfully.

A certain number of party members can be permitted to favor a measure strongly supported by their constituents, provided always that the total vote is to the liking of the party leaders.

THE WOMAN SUFFRAGE QUESTION, THE LIQUOR QUESTION, AND CONGRESS.

[Copyright: 1914: By John T. McCutcheon.]


THE SUFFRAGE AND LIQUOR QUESTIONS WANT YOUR ATTENTION
THEY SAY THEY'RE SORRY BUT THEY'RE ALL OUT
THEY SAY THEY'LL WAIT TILL YOU COME BACK
YOU WILL BE CONSIDERED
WE MIGHT AS WELL DISPOSE OF THOSE QUESTIONS AT THIS SESSION —
BUT, GOSH, HOW WE DREAD IT!!
McCUTCHEON

From The Chicago Tribune, Dec. 15

States' Rights

THE tenacity with which certain Congressmen and Senators cling to the doctrine of States' rights, when their localities are asked to conform in some degree to the consensus of general opinion, and the alacrity with which they besiege the United States Treasury for funds to make local improvements, shows one of the requirements that goes to make a "statesman."—*The Public.*

Over Half of the People in Washington
EAT CORBY'S BREAD--WHY?

Campaign Through the Country

District of Columbia

Headquarters: 1420 *F Street, Washington*

MRS. JOHN JAY WHITE presided at the weekly tea held last Sunday at 1420 F Street. Mrs. Gilson Gardner, a member of a patient committee that had had occasion to wait upon Mr. Henry a number of times last session, drew a clever picture of the Rules Committee's attitude toward suffrage before the election campaign, and after it.

Mrs. Gardner said:

"At the last formal meeting held by the Rules Committee toward the end of the last session, a deputation of women called upon Mr. Henry to ask him to report out at that meeting a special rule for the suffrage resolution. Mr. Henry declined to see the deputation and his resourceful secretary, as a solution of the problem, suggested the use of the telephone. A member of the deputation used Mr. Henry's telephone to communicate with Mr. Henry in the committee room across the hall. The matter was taken under advisement by the committee and the result was a tie vote. Mr. Henry then cast his vote in the negative, thereby blocking the question for the remainder of that session.

"It must be borne in mind that the last session was the long session; also that the original plan to consider only the bills mentioned in the President's message had been abandoned and that legislation of varied character had been introduced. There is a tradition to the effect that the short session is dedicated to appropriation bills. As a matter of fact the great appropriation bills are frequently held back until the last weeks of the session and passed in great haste and confusion. But custom prevails, and so-called general legislation is usually disregarded.

"Early in the present session prior to the first formal meeting of the Committee on Rules, Mrs. William Kent and Mrs. Gilson Gardner called upon Mr. Henry to confer with him concerning the fate of the suffrage resolution at this session. Mr. Henry expressed great interest and even enthusiasm in the subject, stating that the resolution would without doubt be reported at the first meeting of the committee. Mr. Henry added that he had always been desirous of reporting from his committee a special rule which would give time to the discussion of the suffrage amendment.

"On December 12, at the first formal meeting of the Committee on Rules at this session, a special rule carrying six hours' debate was reported. All the evidence would indicate even to the most doubtful mind that the question of the vote on the suffrage resolution has been a party matter. Mr. Henry has always been an avowed believer in suffrage. Yet during the last session, the long session, Mr. Henry frequently deplored his inability to further the cause. He frequently stated to deputations of women as well as to members of the press, that he was bound by party caucus and his hands were tied. Yet in the early days of the present session, the short session, which is supposedly over-crowded with legislation, Mr. Henry stated with great positiveness that the rule would be reported.

"There is every reason to believe that the party leaders have met and studied carefully the Democratic returns from the campaign states."

Miss Margaret Whittemore, of Michigan, told of the election campaign in Washington State, which she carried through most successfully last September and October. Miss Whittemore, who is a member of the Board of the Wayne County Equal Suffrage Association, Michigan, came to Washington as soon as she heard that the Suffrage Resolution had been acted upon by the Rules Committee; and gave a week's vigorous service to the Congressional Union at Washington.

The weekly meetings of the Congressional Union will be held hereafter, until further notice, on Tuesday evenings, at 1420 F Street.

The Sunday "teas" cannot be discontinued without a word of earnest thanks to Mrs. Kate J. Boeckh, who has every Sunday looked after the preparation and service of the tea. Members who have enjoyed it will accord her a hearty vote of thanks.

Colorado

Headquarters: 324 *Seventeenth Street, Denver*
Organizer: *Miss Ruth Astor Noyes*

THE announcement in all Denver papers that the Rules Committee had at last yielded to the nation-wide demand for a vote in the House on woman suffrage has aroused the keenest interest among the Colorado members of the Congressional Union. They are making an effort to convey the knowledge of this interest to their representatives in Congress.

With every prospect of success in gaining members and workers, the Denver Congressional Union members are aiding the local organizer in arrangements for a Thé Dansant to be given December 30th.

Delaware

Headquarters: 305 *Delaware Avenue, Washington*
Organizer: *Miss Mabel Vernon*

THE campaign to win the vote in Delaware is progressing rapidly. A committee has been formed known as the Delaware Campaign Committee of the Congressional Union, with Mrs. Florence Bayard Hilles as Chairman and Miss Edith Spruance as treasurer. The committee already contains a member from every legislative district and every county, who acts as chairman of her district or county. A bill, which has already been drawn by one of the best constitutional lawyers of the State, will be presented to the Legislature as soon as it convenes. Deputations are now being arranged from every part of the state to the newly-elected legislators, so that by the time the legislature meets each member will have been interviewed on the subject of woman suffrage by his constituents and assured of the local interest in this question within his own district.

Miss Mabel Vernon and Miss Anna McCue will remain in the State until the campaign is over. Miss Vernon will remain at Dover in charge of the legislative work. Miss McCue will speak from one end of the State to the other, making the Wilmington office of the Union her headquarters.

To open the campaign a mass meeting will be held on Sunday afternoon, January third, in the Garrick Theater, Wilmington. Miss Anne Martin, President of the Nevada Equal Suffrage Association, Miss Mabel Vernon, and Representative J. A. Falconer, of Washington, will be the speakers. The same people will also be heard in Dover at the opening of the Dover headquarters.

Although the weather has been extremely cold, two very successful street meetings have been held in the evening, and one at noon time in a large factory. Miss McCue spoke also at an afternoon tea given by a woman's labor union. *Suffragists* are being sold on the streets every day.

Oregon

Headquarters: 613 *Eiler's Building, Portland*
Organizer: *Miss Virginia Arnold*

DURING the past two busy weeks, when the streets were alive with Christmas shoppers, the Congressional Union voiceless speech has been shown in as many public places as possible. It is a novelty here, and has created much interest.

On December 8th, Mrs. George H. Cecil, wife of the head of the Forest Service, entertained Miss Virginia Arnold at a tea at her home on the east side. The occasion provided an opportunity for a discussion of the Federal Amendment.

The favorable action of the House Rules Committee, following so closely upon the Congressional Union election campaign in Oregon, has produced a deep impression here; and women voters are now writing their Congressional representatives to speak and vote for the Mondell Amendment when the House takes action upon it.

Pennsylvania

Headquarters: 1820 *Pine Street, Philadelphia*

THERE will be a meeting at three-thirty P.M. Thursday, January 7th, at 3401 Powelton Avenue, Philadelphia, at the home of Miss Mary Burnham, a member of the Philadelphia committee of the Union. The Philadelphia members of the Democratic delegation to the President on the preceding day, will describe the interview; and Miss Alice Paul will outline the work with Congress for the coming year. The Philadelphia members of the Union are concentrating at present on working up this meeting.

A meeting was held during the past week at the home of Mrs. Lucretia M. B. Mitchell, a member of the Executive Committee of the Philadelphia branch of the Union, at which Mrs. Mitchell presided and Miss Alice Paul and Dr. Caroline Spencer, Secretary of the Women's Political Union of Colorado, were the speakers. Dr. Spencer spoke in most glowing terms of the work of the Congressional Union in Colorado; she said it was a splendid thing for the Colorado women to have the Union open headquarters there and show how the enfranchised women could use their power to win suffrage for the women of the East.

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Treasurer's Report

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This Will Save Much Inconveniences

THIS is the beginning of a new year, with new plans, new needs and a new budget.

We have every reason to feel encouraged when we review the months that are past. We can look back upon a most successful campaign in the West against the party that refused to consider a suffrage measure seriously; upon a vote in the Senate that lacked only eleven "yeas" of the required two-thirds, the largest vote ever cast by that body for suffrage; and finally upon a promise in the House for a vote there. These are strides in the right direction.

Now comes the new year. Every member of the Union can help to make its record fuller and finer than that of the past year. Send a contribution to the organization which is working to gain in the shortest possible time the widest measure of enfranchisement for American women.

CONTRIBUTIONS TOWARD $100,000 FUND FOR SECURING THE PASSAGE OF THE FEDERAL SUFFRAGE AMENDMENT

(*Fund opened December 7th,* 1912. *Donations, membership fees and tickets are here listed; receipts from the purely business departments of "The Suffragist" and the Literature Committee are not included.*)

LIST OF CONTRIBUTIONS FROM DECEMBER 14 THROUGH DECEMBER 22, 1914

Mrs. Mary J. Bond	$ 5.00
Mrs. S. Eddy	5.00
Miss Jessie Anthony	5.00
Mr. Greeley	1.00
Mrs. Samuel Fels	25.00
Mrs. Charles Keen	3.00
Chestnut Hill and Mt. Airy (Philadelphia branch of the Congressional Union)	5.00
Miss Elsie Hill	.31
Miss Sarah M. Farr	1.00
Miss Fanny T. Cochran	25.00
Mrs. Claudius U. Stone	26.00
Mrs. S. B. McDuffie	2.00
Miss Betty Foreshaw	1.00
Miss Mary de Vou	3.00
Mrs. Elizabeth Fairlamb	.25
Miss Anita Bradford	.25
Miss Almira Gifford	1.00
Delaware Equal Suffrage Association	10.00
Mrs. William B. Butler	1.00
Mrs. W. S. Quigley	.25
Mrs. Victor du Pont, Jr.	1.00
Miss Marguerite Wallace	.50
Mr. Francis I. du Pont	4.00
Miss Mary Conkle	.50
Mrs. Cornelius Mundy	1.00
Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont	1,000.00
Mrs. John A. Cranston	1.00
Mrs. Florence Bayard Hilles	5.00
Mrs. Henry Justice	20.00
Mr. R. P. Webster	2.00
Mrs. L. W. Neilson Ford	5.00
A Friend	100.00
Mrs. Ormsby McCammon	6.00
M. E. D.	1.00
C. S.	1.00
Mrs. Robert Adamson	10.00
Collections	5.26
Membership fees	5.50
Total	$ 1,288.82
Previously acknowledged in The *Suffragist*	$51,024.69
Total through December 22nd, 1914	$52,313.51

LRB S '16

1000 New Subscribers

MRS LAURA UPPERCU NEWTON, Vice-President of the Woman's Political Union of New Jersey, in sending in the renewal of her subscription to the *Suffragist* writes as follows:

"Enclosed you will find my remittance for another year's subscription to the *Suffragist*. I find it indispensable in my work, and most valuable in keeping me posted about the Federal Amendment. It is also an excellent organ of suffrage information. It seems to me that every suffragist, and especially those most active in their State work, should keep intelligently posted upon all suffrage questions in order that they may be always in a position to answer those queries relative to our work and activities. Let me send you every good wish for the continued success of your excellent paper."

If you are already a subscriber yourself, do you not know some member of Congress to whom you could send a year's subscription and thus keep before him the importance and significance of the movement for the Federal Amendment? There is no better way to arouse interest in this question than to give others an opportunity to read the *Suffragist*.

Members Who Have Secured New Subscribers
DECEMBER 15 TO DECEMBER 21

(*In this column we list the subscribers sent in each week by our members. These are only a part of the total number of new subscriptions.*)

Mrs. Eva S. Evans	1
Miss Jane Fair	1
Miss Virginia J. Arnold	2
Miss Psyche Webster	2
Dr. Grace M. Bales	1
Mrs. Carrie Wright	1
Mrs. M. W. Adams	2
Miss Minnie D. Abbott	1
Miss Lucy Burns	1
Mr. N. N. Churchman	1
Miss Mary Johnston	2
Miss Ditto	1
Miss Elsie Hill	1
	17
Previously acknowledged in the *Suffragist*	439
Total to December 21st	456

The Congressional Union

THE Congressional Union is an organization whose purpose is to secure the passage of an amendment to the National Constitution (known in this Congress as the Bristow-Mondell Resolution) enfranchising the women of the whole country. This is the only society formed for the exclusive purpose of working for the national amendment.

The Union is open to all women who, believing that suffrage is fundamental to all democratic reform, consider suffrage the main issue in the field of national politics.

There is an entrance fee of 25 cents, without further dues; it is known that every member will contribute to the limit of her ability.

If you believe in the purpose and methods of the Congressional Union, will you not sign the attached membership card and send it, with the 25 cents entrance fee, to Congressional Union Headquarters, 1420 F Street, Washington, D. C.

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Occupation .....

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